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THE REVOLUTION OF 1976

Michael Novak

A PAN-CHRISTIAN PAPACY?

Robert McAfee Brown

'DISOBEDIENCE NOW!'

An Exchange of Views

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De Facto Anticlimax—*Maurice R. Berube*

Johnson After Glassboro—*William V. Shannon*

Colette the Pagan—*Alice Mayhew*

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Overview records the cocktail circuit story about a Dutch monastery which suffered several defections. As each cleric left, his name was crossed off the roster posted in the refectory. One day a note was attached to the roster: "Will the last one out, please blow out the sanctuary lamp and make sure all windows are locked."

•

Blind Man's Bluff Dept.:

Bishop Clarence Elwell, vicar of education, Diocese of Cleveland, on the problem of diminishing religious teaching vocations: "Some unthinking persons have tried to persuade teachers that their Christian witness was more valuable in working in the slums than in the classroom."

Fr. Clementinus Schutijser, minister-general of the Capuchins, on the matter of a married clergy: "Marriage is only a problem for secular priests—if it is a problem" . . . For priests in religious orders, the issue "is not a difficulty."

•

Eyes Wide Open Dept.:

Fr. Bernard Häring on September's Synod of Bishops: "If the Synod works as expected, it will be a great hope. If it fails to outbalance the senile structure of those who wish to return to the former order, then that means the graveyard of immobilism, and the explosions and defections will be unavoidable. God protect us!"

Fr. John Cronin, S.S., on the American Church and the poor: "When the Catholic Church in France awakened to the fact that it had lost the allegiance of the workers, new and daring programs were initiated. Perhaps the Church in the United States needs to develop a collective consciousness that it is largely irrelevant in the lives of 30 or 40 million poor Americans."

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Flack continues over the statement of non-assistance for North Vietnamese issued by Catholic Relief Services' Msgr. Joseph Hartnett. From Rome, writer Gary MacEoin has fired off the following letter to sundry publications:

"For many years I have been a regular and (in relation to my means) substantial contributor to U.S. Catholic Relief Services. I want to go on record that while the policy of that body . . . remains in force, I cannot in conscience contribute further. I had always naively assumed that CRS gave worldwide according to need. Now I am told that the U.S. government 'certainly would not allow us' to participate in a project to which Pope Paul has already contributed.

"As a Christian, I must reject the claim of any government to tell me who is my neighbor. As an American, I must protest the outrageous violation of the constitutional principle of separation of Church and State which concedes to the State the right to tell an official Church organization what it can and what it cannot do."

•

That old nemesis, Christian anti-Semitism . . . The Coptic Christian community in Egypt recently cabled the World Council of Churches urging the WCC "in the name of Christ" to oppose occupation of Jerusalem and other Christian holy places by "the very people who crucified Christ and deny His resurrection."

Earlier, Coptic Patriarch Kyrillos VI of Alexandria was reported as supporting "all measures of Arab leaders which might lead to the regaining of the Holy Land from those who killed Christ." (During Vatican II, Kyrillos violently denounced the Council's statement on Christian-Jewish relations.)

•

David Dellinger, editor of *Liberation* magazine and a member of the War Crimes Tribunal that sat in Stockholm, returned to New York (via Hanoi) with a blast at the American press for "libeling the motives and procedures" of the Tribunal, and for overlooking the "incontrovertible evidence" that "the United States is committing acts in Vietnam that are both so contemptuous of human life and so deliberate and systematic that they make one ashamed not just to be an American, but to be a human being at all."

The Tribunal's net effect on Dellinger: "I felt like a German living in Nazi Germany and reading for the first time what was going on in the concentration camps."

Dellinger, incidentally, refutes press reports that the Tribunal may be reconvened in New York or Washington. "There was talk of one or two delegate sessions being held in those cities, but there was never any consideration of holding a full session in this country," Dellinger remarked. Reason: the unlikelihood of visas being extended NFL, North Vietnamese and non-proAmerican witnesses generally.

Dellinger guesses the Tribunal will reconvene late next fall in Rome, Stockholm or Helsinki.

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The easiest answer yet for "racial and campus riots, draft card demonstrations, etc." is offered by the National Gym Association. Give individuals so engaged a loftier purpose, specifically, "to raise the physical and health standards of America." The Association's ambition: to "stimulate our nation until these words, 'A Sound Mind In A Sound Body—America Rise' becomes [sic] a reality." . . . golly!

•

Another investor has peddled its stock in Dow Chemical Co., primary manufacturer of napalm. The Community Church of New York sold high and distributed $7,000 profit among groups working to alleviate human suffering in North and South Vietnam, like the Committee of Responsibility to Save War-Burned and War-Injured Vietnamese Children, American Friends Service Committee, Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, and Church World Service. Catholic Relief Services was not among those receiving grants.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Whose Illusion?

Saint Louis

To the Editors: John Cogley's essay, "Catholic Universities: the Future of an Illusion" (June 2), seems to leave unexamined certain crucial questions, specifically the feasibility of operating schools which are not "committed" while at the same time preserving a theological curriculum near the center of university life. In other terms, is there a practical alternative between totally secular education and religious schools with official theologies?

Consider the case of a bright young theologian teaching a course in "salvation history." For half a semester he gives brilliant lectures filled with the insights of the latest biblical scholarship, comparative religions, existential perspective, etc. Then an unusually bold student speaks up, "This is all very nice, but how do we know that God even exists or that the Bible isn't just a long fairy tale? Everything you say is predicated on unproven assumptions."

The professor can, of course, address himself to the question *an Deus sit*, and every student should no doubt be forced to wrestle with it at some time. But ultimately few modern people find a definitive philosophical answer to this problem. Is all theology therefore dishonest, because it presupposes certain beliefs which cannot be proven to most men's satisfaction? (In practice few professors of any subject take the trouble to discuss the intellectual foundations of the subject they teach.)

This problem arises in non-theological contexts as well. Consider, for example, the commitment of Mr. Cogley's son to the Peace Corps. A dedicated and adept academic sceptic could demolish the rationale behind this commitment by mercilessly questioning all the liberal-humane assumptions and refusing to accept stammering answers.—Is the Peace Corps really effective? Could not youthful idealism be better employed at home? And (the metaphysical trump card) is

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H-BOMB WARNINGS

Washington is playing it cool these days, first over the Israeli-Arab conflict, then over the Chinese hydrogen bomb explosion. It is difficult to tell whether this is a matter of decision—or merely battle-fatigue. At any rate, the calm with which China's H-bomb was received is something to be grateful for. A Chinese "bomb scare" (which could be had for a week of speechifying) might have political advantages for the Administration. But with hawks in desperation for something to bomb and the Chiefs of Staff and the missile lobby straining to have a go at a multi-billion dollar ABM system, Washington must know that this is no time to fool with nuclear hysteria.

Yet calmness should not be confused with complacency, and the Chinese H-bomb signals a few crucial things about the future of international politics. The first, of course, has to do with the significance of China's arrival as a great power. China's strength is frequently exaggerated at the moment, but no one can deny that the world had better look to the future. And China will no doubt keep reminding the world—with the unveiling of medium- and intermediate-range ballistic missiles within a year or so, with the production of a system of ICBMs and missile-launching submarines during the 1970's. The United States is constantly preaching the "special obligations of a great power," usually to take unilateral action in some part of the world it has decided to define as a "power vacuum." Will China enjoy the same great power "responsibilities"? The question is not meant to be frivolous. Either the great powers, including China, will have to carve up the world into the spheres, a la Morgenthau, where each practices its own version of the Monroe Doctrine; or the present great powers, meaning primarily the U.S. and Russia, are going to have to work out a new pattern of behavior before China demands to be let into their game.

The second development the newest H-bomb signals is just as obvious: the proliferation of nuclear weapons. There are some theorists, like France's General Gallois, who perceive such proliferation as ultimately stabilizing

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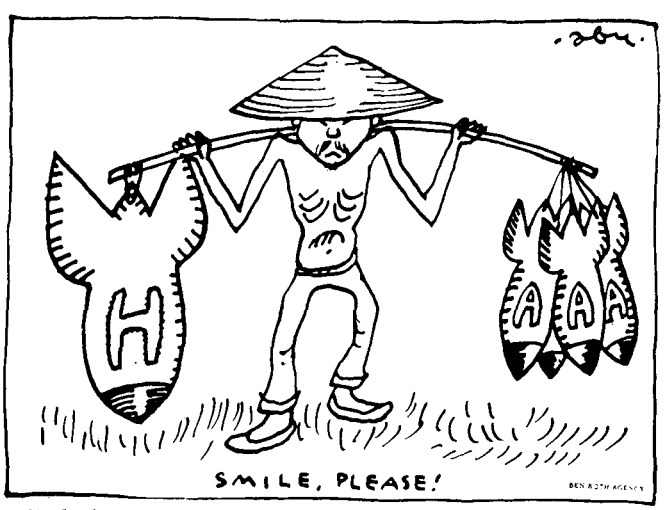
international conflicts. But their optimism rests, it seems, on an unwarranted faith in human rationality and an undue confidence in the aptitude of many political leaders for the subtlest of life-or-death calculations. The chains of proliferation are frightening to follow. What will India do in the face of China's weapons? And what would Pakistan do in the face of a nuclear India? Israel is seriously considering putting the Middle East on what it hopes might be nuclear ice. If Egypt responded in kind (which, however, would be difficult—without Soviet help), then Saudi Arabia will have to look to its own claim to leadership in the Arab world. This scenario ignores European nations like West Germany and Czechoslovakia, as well as Japan and South Africa.

Things won't happen that fast. But they are happening fast enough to put India on the spot right now. It can either opt for its own deterrent (which China would favor for its disruptive effect both on the Indian economy and on U.S.-Indian ties). Or perhaps it may abandon the nuclear race as a lost cause and fish for some kind of guarantees from the present nuclear powers, a step which is also filled with dangers, namely the automatic generation of a world conflict from a local Indian-Chinese clash.

The non-proliferation treaty being negotiated in Geneva is supposed to put a happy ending to all these developments. But the chances are not great that it will. The United States and the Soviet Union are remarkably close to agreement, but whether they can obtain the signatures of the key non-nuclear nations, which after all is the main point of the exercise, grows constantly more doubtful. To many nuclear "have-nots," the very agreement of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. threatens a "condominium of the world." Nations like India are not only asking assurances of security for themselves but also demand that the two super powers make their share of sacrifices by linking non-proliferation to progress in disarmament among the nuclear "haves."

Which raises the next difficulty: the U.S. and Russia



Abu-London, England

Summer Schedule

In keeping with the usual practice, Commonweal will again appear on alternate weeks during July-September. Forthcoming issues will be dated July 28, August 11, August 25, September 8, and September 22. From then on, we will resume our normal weekly publishing schedule.

are on the verge of another arms race. It may take the form of competition in constructing anti-missile systems, in increasing the number and size of offensive missiles for the purpose of penetrating the opposing defenses—or both. The calculations of both nations are confused by the factor of China; the weapons or defenses constructed with an eye toward Peking's intentions can be perceived as also usable against the other super power.

The solution to these difficulties will not be found in a jungle war in Southeast Asia, nor even in one or more treaties. Moscow and Washington will have to pursue long-range policies aimed toward limiting proliferation, their own proliferation of weapons included; or the world will hardly be safe for warring, let alone living.

BACHELOR PSYCHOSIS

"There are better things to do," Pope Paul has admonished those probing the flexibility of the Church's discipline on clerical celibacy. "It would be much better to promote serious studies in defense of the spiritual meaning and moral value of virginity and celibacy."

The words bristle in Pope Paul's new encyclical, *Sacerdotalis Celibatus*, which reaffirms the clerical celibacy code laid down by the Second Lateran Council of 1139 and adhered to since by the Western Church. They occur deep in the 12,000-word document, but they catch the tone of the encyclical and Paul's determination to maintain a bachelor priesthood within Catholicism.

Despite the allowances for a married diaconate and the hint in the encyclical that greater consideration may be extended married ministers of other religions who turn to Catholicism, an intransigence is reflected in Pope Paul's attitude. Celibacy stays!

Celibacy has its place in the Church; few argue otherwise. The question is how necessary is it as a condition for ordination to the secular priesthood, and how desirable. Changing apostolates and modern behavioral studies would seem to dictate openness to a change. Then there is the pragmatic consideration: priestly departures alone demand less rigorous postures by authority.

Vatican officials recently admitted that in the past three years 4,000 priests have petitioned to be relieved of their priestly vows; thousands more have simply left without bothering to seek laicization. In the United States,

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an estimated 400 priests left last year because of the Church's mandatory celibacy rule. The paradox is that *Sacerdotalis Celibatus*, rather than heading off departures, as it is intended, could easily accelerate them by alienating the many priests who are anxious for a change in celibacy regulations and who see their survival as priests bound-up with a situation in which change is at least possible.

No one pretends that a change in the celibacy laws would be the answer to all or even most of the problems of unrest among the clergy. But it would be a help—and for the very reasons of service, witness and personal fulfillment which the encyclical facilely itemizes, then discards for romantic notions of "solemn and age-old" traditions and considerations of prudence—lest the Church might give the appearance of having been mistaken in its policies.

"It is unthinkable," Pope Paul wrote, "that for centuries she (the Church) has followed a path which, instead of favoring the spiritual richness of individual souls and of the people of God, has in some way compromised it, or that she has, with arbitrary juridical prescriptions, stifled the free expansion of the most profound realities of nature and of grace." It is a curious logic for anyone at any time, but especially for a Pope who has just led a Church through a Council in which little was "unthinkable," particularly with regard to non-dogmatic matters, as is celibacy.

There is one small consolation with regard to the encyclical. Whatever its immediate effects, it is not the last word on the subject of celibacy, any more than Pope John's apostolic constitution, *Veretum Sapientia*, which sought to grind the vernacular movement to a halt, was the last word on the place of Latin in the life of the Church.

Veterum Sapientia was undone in less than two years' time by the very first decree of Vatican Council II, the Constitution on the Liturgy. *Sacerdotalis Celibatus*, a similar rear-guard action on an item as dear now to the institutional Church as Latin once was, will also be undone. Nor may it be necessary to await another Council. It may come with the next papacy.

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ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED

NAL OR NEVER FOR LAITY

St. Paul

On the weekend of June 23-25, while the Roman Catholic Tories of *The Wanderer Forum* assembled in a downtown Minneapolis hotel, some 200 representatives of local laymen's organizations gathered across the Mississippi in St. Paul to add yet another institutional structure to the American Catholic Church: the National Association of Laymen.

Their meeting had sprung from the frustration of local lay groups' representatives, who had failed to gain an audience with the American bishops assembled in Chicago last April. Now they met to provide a national laymen's organization with a constitution, by-laws, officers, and a set of specific tasks. They spoke carefully and disclaimed any interest in lay-clerical power struggles, but Michael Novak put the matter plainly in his keynote address: "The Church, to paraphrase Clemenceau, is much too valuable to entrust to the clergy."

The NAL Constitution states the purposes of the new organization in general but vigorous language: (1) "To promote and encourage continual renewal in the Church"; (2) "To stimulate an authentic, free, and responsible lay voice in the Church"; (3) "To assist the renewal efforts of individuals and local organizations"; (4) "To encourage the exchange of ideas on every level within and without the Christian Community"; (5) "To encourage initiative for seeking solutions to problems affecting the community of men"; and (6) "To establish and maintain effective liaison with the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and other national organizations."

Dennis Landis, president of the St. Paul-Minneapolis Association of Christians for Church Renewal, was elected president of the NAL. Dr. John Bannan of Chicago Loyola University's philosophy department was elected vice-president. The first secretary is Mrs. Laura Caldwell of the Cleveland Council of Laymen. Paul Uselman, another ACCR member, was elected treasurer.

The nine additional members of the NAL's Executive Committee came from St. Paul, Cleveland, Chicago, New York, Fort Dodge, Detroit, and Rockford, Illinois.

At Sunday afternoon's General Assembly, the Resolutions Committee brought to the floor six general resolutions and 38 specific proposals. These were the work of eight workshops in the areas of marriage and the family, diocesan and parish administration, education, communications, human dignity, ecumenism, liturgy and parish life.

The six general resolutions were adopted immediately. All of them more or less state the obvious: i.e., "That the prevailing structures and practices of the institutional Church, are, with rare exceptions, not adapted to such exercise of lay initiative, and need to be modified to allow for it."

The 38 specific resolutions were prudently referred to the Executive Committee for further study. The members of this board will meet soon in Chicago to edit and

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debate the proposals, and they have been enjoined by the delegates to publish their findings by September 30, well ahead of the next meeting of the American bishops. Most likely to be adopted are such resolutions as these: "That it is the right and responsibility of married couples to make conscientious decisions concerning the means of regulating births in their families": ". . . that we urge the National Conference of Catholic Bishops to publicly recognize the fundamental human rights of priests, including freedom of domicile, freedom of income, freedom of study."

Less likely to be forthcoming before October is the proposal that "non-territorial parishes such as the Community of John 23 in Oklahoma be established *immediately* in every diocese." (Italics mine.)

It is quite obvious that the NAL is not as yet quite as *national* as the name would indicate. (The delegates represented local laymen's organizations from 12 states.) Membership and money are now its proper care-and-feeding formula.

"There must be a broad base of appeal," one member said privately, "if this organization is going to survive as a national body." The basic appeal of the NAL is, of course, to local diocesan laymen, both individuals and organizations. Most of the representatives were well educated, professional people, mostly in the 30 to 50 age bracket. Attention might well be directed also to the semi-apathetic Catholic college student, the young person who is neither a drop-out nor a card-carrier, the individual who seeks some platform to voice his confused concern about the Church which nourished and complicated his vision of the American dream. It is a fact that many of these young people are at the brink of activism—and youthful courage is not an undesirable element in the NAL.

Born and christened, the infant organization appears healthy. Only time and tempers will tell its destiny.

PATRICK LALLY

(Patrick Lally is an Assistant Professor of English at the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota.)

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WASHINGTON DECISION

DE FACTO ANTICLIMAX

Federal Judge J. Skelly Wright's recent decision condemning de facto segregation in Washington, D.C.'s public schools comes as an anticlimax to Negro efforts last year to improve ghetto schools. There is little likelihood that Northern school segregation will wither away under the ruling's impact. Yet Judge Wright's decision—departing from the previous spate of federal court interpretations of the Supreme Court's *Brown vs Board of Education* on de jure segregation—forges a legal precedent with possible repercussions for the future.

Judge Wright, however, precluded any immediate resolution of Northern urban segregation by failing to order the merger of the District of Columbia's school system with surrounding suburban schools. Nowadays few educators conceive of urban integration as plausible unless such educational gerrymandering takes place; for example, Washington with a 93% Negro pupil population could not be integrated without combining metropolitan and suburban school districts. But Judge Wright left a door open for school boards to "anticipate the possibility."

Admittedly Washington's merger problems are unique. Bereft of home rule, the District is a no-man's land; this compounds the legal difficulties since Washington's suburbs are the property of Maryland and Virginia.

Geographically there are few problems. According to integration expert Dr. Max Wolff, a ring of educational parks (or a smaller school system) circling the city would place schools within a mile radius from the heart of the city and the heart of the suburbs.

Judge Wright's reasoning was a distillation of the sociology of the Coleman report extolling the putative benefits of integration on Negro pupil aspiration and achievement; in Judge Wright's words: "the scholastic achievement of the disadvantaged child, Negro and white, is strongly related to the racial and socio-economic composition of the student body of his school." Undubtedly, the Coleman report could furnish the Supreme Court with a sociological bedrock for a landmark ruling on de facto segregation; that is, if the Wright decision is appealed to the highest court and should the court subsequently reverse itself and review a recent school integration case.

So far the courts are alone. The Congressional mood, indicative of the national temper, is decidedly hostile to desegregating the schools either North or South. In order to maintain a semblance of the 1965 federal aid-to-education bill intact last spring, HEW Secretary John Gardner had to make apparent concessions to Southern Congressman by dismantling the desegregation machinery of the Office of Education and reassembling it in HEW offices across the street. But in the process a Congressional amendment was tacked on delaying Southern desegregation by requiring hearings prior to a cut off of federal funds to segregated Southern schools.

Nor has Congress taken seriously the U.S. Civil Rights Commission's recommendation in February to enact a 50% racial balance law—a suggestion emanating from a 246 page report, *Racial Isolation in the Schools,* repre-

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senting the Commission's reading of the Coleman study. The best the Commission could muster was a show of interest from Senator Ted Kennedy and a precious handful of legislators. No bill was forthcoming. A Congressional habit of ritualistically adding anti-bussing riders seems hard to break.

All of this does not startle Negro leaders who have become acclimated to the passing of the civil rights movement. Julius Hobson of ACT, the initiator of the Washington suit, pragmatically set his goals for a court action that would affect "quality education in Washington, not necessarily integrated education."

Judge Wright's banning of a track system—four separate class groupings according to ability from basic to honors with the lower tracks geared, in Superintendent Hansen's phrase, to "blue collar students"—has implications for the many school systems that refer to ability charts. But what is of paramount significance was the acceptance of an economic standard; the District spent more for white pupils ($392 median per pupil) than for Negro pupils ($292 median per pupil). Economic discrimination adds another weapon to the arsenal of the quality segregated education movement.

Certainly the District's low educational performance—four out of five schools are reading below national norms—reflects the general malaise in urban schools and serves as rallying point for parental revolt. In the hopes of staving off any such revolt as has occurred in such places as New York City, Superintendent Hansen has declared in favor of parent advisory councils in the schools.

Even the most traditional-minded among the schoolmen see the future in the upsurge of ghetto parents. Their only hope is that the parent revolt against the schools can be channeled to their own educational ends. Both teachers and administrators in slum schools, long accustomed to parental apathy, have yet to adjust to a concern that threatens at times to turn into vigilanteeism. (The American Civil Liberties Union is considering advocating teacher review boards.)

Ironically, quality segregated education is achieving a modicum of respectability outside the educational establishment. The Washington *Post* heartily approved of the city's Student Board of Education's demands last May to initiate courses and vote on principals. And the New York State Legislature, bypassing the New York City schoolmen, empowered Mayor Lindsay to decentralize the schools by December in the name of "increased community awareness and participation in the educational process."

Most probably a parental say in running the schools would affect pupil performance in much the same fashion as integration has been shown to raise Negro aspiration levels. And, despite Judge Wright's ruling, this still appears to be the only game in town.

MAURICE R. BERUBE

(Mr. Berube is assistant editor of The United Teacher, *published by United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.)*

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

JOHNSON AFTER GLASSBORO

Whatever effects Israel's triumph may have on the Middle East, the war and its diplomatic sequel have had only good effects on President Johnson's domestic political situation.

In the days leading up to the war, Mr. Johnson incurred some political disfavor among Jewish voters who wanted him to act more promptly in breaking the Egyptian blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba. The President's effort to organize a multilateral flotilla of ships drawn from all the Western maritime powers might have succeeded in time, but it stirred memories of the "canal users' association" that the late John Foster Dulles talked about organizing in the summer of 1956 after Nasser's seizure of the Suez canal and which came to nothing. But Israel's striking victory relieved Mr. Johnson of that difficulty. Rallies that had been arranged as pressure demonstrations turned into victory celebrations.

At the same time, President Johnson gained credit with other voters by appearing to act with circumspection and restraint and thereby helping to keep the United States out of a war in the Middle East. His standing as a sober, cautious statesman went up. This is of crucial importance for any President or Presidential candidate since the public in the nuclear age naturally makes up its mind almost solely on how a man can cope with the issues of war and peace.

Premier Kosygin's visit to the United Nations and the subsequent summit conference in Glassboro, New Jersey, were a second political gain for the President. Majority sentiment in the country, although deeply suspicious of Communist intentions, would like to see the United States and the Soviet Union come together and solve more of the world's problems. The *detente* is popular. When President Johnson spoke to a Democratic Party fund-raising dinner in Los Angeles on June 23 at the end of a long day on which he had conferred with Kosygin on the other side of the continent, he received a tumultuously enthusiastic welcome. Since California Democrats have been feuding bitterly among themselves and the Vietnam war is particularly unpopular among Southern California liberals,

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the atmosphere at the dinner was much more friendly than party officials had earlier feared.

In the course of his remarks, which were partly extemporaneous, Mr. Johnson came close to announcing his own candidacy for re-election in 1968 and also hinted broadly at the theme he intends to develop in next year's campaign.

"When I read about my decline and my defeat (next year), I looked back over the problems that other Presidents have had and I don't seem to remember many of them that the American people turned their backs on in a time of crisis or in a time of war.

"Whatever the prophets may write . . . no President has ever been turned upon when he was engaged in trying to protect his country and its interests against a foreign foe."

Running as the Commander-in-Chief but not as a "hawk," Mr. Johnson expects to be able to dominate the political center ground. This presupposes that he will be able to keep the Vietnam war contained at about its present scope and intensity. It also presupposes that he can keep in touch with Kosygin and the other Russian leaders and prevent a marked deterioration of American-Russian relations in any other part of the war.

If the election were being held now, there is little doubt that Mr. Johnson would have his Republican opponent at a disadvantage. The President could appeal to patriotism and national unity on behalf of his Vietnam policies while pointing to Glassboro as proof of his willingness to seek peace through reasonable conversations. A Republican who moved to the President's left and bid for peace in Vietnam would run the risk of losing many Goldwaterite members of his own party; a Republican who tried to be more militant than the President on Vietnam and more fiercely anti-Communist would not only alienate peace-minded voters but also alarm the great numbers of voters in the middle range of opinion who are not convinced "doves" on Vietnam but who get vaguely upset by any candidate who sounds too rash or warlike. In 1964, Barry Goldwater's statements, particularly his off-the-cuff opinions, panicked millions of these centrist voters.

The difficulty for Mr. Johnson is that the election is not being held now. And as Napoleon's mother used to ask warily after each of his imperial triumphs, "But will it all last?"

It did not for Napoleon, and it may not for Mr. Johnson. His present rise in popularity is fortuitous. It rests upon assumptions, some of which are outside his control. One that is within his control is the scope of the war in Vietnam. If he refrains from a U.S. invasion of North Vietnam, the Communist Chinese are likely to remain out of the fighting. Without Chinese intervention, the war may rock along about as it is now. If anything, the stalemate may be on military terms that are somewhat more favorable to the United States.

President Johnson, however, cannot advance peace talks with the Russians on conflicts elsewhere in the world as long as the Vietnam war continues. He cannot get peace in Vietnam unless he is willing to lower his terms, and he shows no inclination of doing that. As long as he holds out for a non-Communist South Vietnam, the war will continue. Meanwhile, the Russians have it within their power to create fresh crises in the Middle East, in Germany, and in Korea. The President cannot count on each of these crises turning out as painlessly for the United States as the most recent Israeli-Egyptian confrontation. He could, of course, be lucky. It might well develop that the Russian leaders for reasons of their own will not intensify the political cold war on any of its several fronts. Despite Vietnam, they may even agree on a nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The balance between the doves and the hawks inside the ruling group in Moscow is one of those imponderables that could importantly affect next year's election and about which the President and everyone else is ill-informed.

Effect upon Republicans

Whether temporary or permanent, the upturn in President Johnson's political fortunes has had an effect upon the Republicans. The GOP governors who met late in June at Jackson Hole, Wyoming, reflected the growing conviction within their party that it will take both a resourceful campaigner and a man of special strength to unseat President Johnson next year. All four leading possibilities—Richard Nixon and Governors Romney, Rockefeller and Reagan—are experienced campaigners. But Republicans are beginning to worry that Nixon and Romney do not have that added increment of personal strength that will also be necessary. Nixon may be too shopworn and Romney too slow on his feet.

Attention is turning to the two polar opposites—Rockefeller and Reagan. Rockefeller's special strength is his vast experience in foreign affairs dating back to World War II when he was Coordinator of Latin American Affairs. He was at the San Francisco Conference in 1945 that drafted the UN Charter. He was at the Geneva summit meeting in 1955 and prepared General Eisenhower's "open skies" disarmament proposal. Fluent in Spanish and familiar with Latin American problems, he could be presented to the electorate as a man equal in stature with President Johnson in dealing with foreign affairs.

Reagan's special strength is his personal glamor. Before conservative audiences, he can deliver crowd-pleasing lines. With the general public, he has the relaxed manner and easy way with a platitude developed over many years as an actor and a traveling speaker for the General Electric Company. His backers hope that he would have the personal magnetism that Goldwater failed to sustain. It is pretty thin material out of which to make a President, but if Reagan could be sold as a Governor of California, no one can safely say the nation would not buy him.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

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New Directions

THE REVOLUTION OF 1976

MICHAEL NOVAK

It will probably be well, some day soon, to make explicit the view of an increasing number of Catholics. The glow of Vatican II has almost entirely waned—its promise has been squandered by an inept institutional structure, nearly impervious to serious change. Pope Paul VI compels some admiration; but his florid and effusive rhetoric about Mary and modern life is appalling. "What do you think of Pope Paul?" a Catholic graduate student was asked. "To be truthful, I never think of him at all," he replied.

The prospects for reform in the institutional Church leave many of us bored. At the present moment, the real and worthwhile problem is how to understand, and how to assist, the serious revolution occurring in the United States. An increasing number of Catholics could hardly care less what decision the Pope makes about birth control, or what he did at Fatima. One might say that the document on "The Church and the Modern World" turned many Catholics towards the world, except that the Church—except for a few glorious moments at the Council—has been receding from their horizon for some time. Changes in the Church are too slow, thus irrelevant to the real issues of the moment.

It is perhaps an illumination of the present state of affairs to note that many leaders of active political groups, like Mario Savio and Tom Hayden, were once Catholics. The life of many ordinary Catholic families, schools, and parishes is so horrifying in its piety and legalism that young people of sensitivity and conscience are quick to seize the opportunity to shake themselves free from a kind of nightmare. Granted the opportunity of a wider education, they eagerly seek the joys of experience and discovery. Moreover, the moral idealism of their childhood carries over into their perceptions of society: the lies, hypocrisy, public relations, and advertising which shape the American consciousness appear to them as an abomination. They have been born with, or endowed with, a basic core of integrity, a jealously guarded flame of freedom and honesty whose beauty they can almost taste. Clouds of compromises and falsehoods press in upon that flame—try to make them expect less of human integrity than they do.

What is happening to America? Who could have dreamed, five years ago, that we might be on the threshold of a revolutionary period in our history? There are now only suggestions that the gap between "the mainstream" of American opinion and the two extremes will lead young men "into the hills" to form guerrilla bands. How long can those on the left go on repeating that the imperialism manifested by the United States in Vietnam is immoral before they must feel the obligation not to *protest* their government but to *oppose* it? To be sure, the left is now committed to nonviolence. But if the men of the right—who now are in so many localities closely linked to the police, the CIA, and the FBI—continue to treat students and Negroes with violence, it is not difficult to imagine another Watts on a much larger scale. If not at such a time, then on some other occasion, many students may one day be led to join in the battle rather than watch the National Guard pulverize the defenseless.

The Widening Gap

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the present ideological fission in American society is the widening gap between the "old left" and the "new left." There are, of course, no party allegiances to help us define these groups precisely, nor even any litmus-paper tests of beliefs or attitudes. Nevertheless, there is a difference between the position of "realism" and that of an attack upon "realism." The realist stands within the present situation, which has for him all the inevitability of the "facts." He is interested in adjustments and modifications which are politically, socially, or economically "feasible," given the present facts. He is not interested in ultimate questions, but in present power realities.

By contrast, a growing band of politically conscious activists does wish to raise, if not ultimate, at least further questions. They stand outside the pragmatic consensus. They believe that the pragmatic, technical man—the very man whom Harvey Cox celebrates in *The Secular City*—is a fraud. He is part of a machine, not a man. And the machine that he is part of is "the most powerful nation on earth." In his realism, the American "urban man" fails to note that power tends to corrupt. Thus, in his willingness to operate within the pragmatic consensus, in his willingness to perceive relationships in a functional, operational way, rather than in an evaluative way, he makes an indispensible contribution to the efficiency of American imperialism. Without him, the system could not run. Its reality depends upon his "realism."

To what extent is the American who does not oppose

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with every atom of his power the American consensus guilty of the death of soldiers and civilians in Vietnam? Who knows how many further, similar wars are made probable by the logic of the present consensus? Logic, of course, seldom has a long life in history; contingencies and accidents of all sorts interrupt the flow of events. Yet by present logic Americans must, according to their public consensus, (1) be clearly and implacably anti-Communist; (2) be committed to a world-wide sense of power and responsibility; and (3) be determined to halt all revolutions with a Communist flavor. It now seems highly improbable that those in our society who benefit financially from "law and order" will tolerate the badly needed political and social revolutions in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. In almost all cases, such revolutions will have Communist support or leadership. Logically, then, the United States is now committed in advance to crushing such revolutions. The imperialism of the United States bids to be one of the most indirect and hateful that the world has ever seen.

What course of action, then, lies open to the American who wishes "to love justice and still love his own country"? Realism, studied so diligently and learned with such efforts during the last thirty-five years, under the leadership of such diverse writers as Sidney Hook and Reinhold Niebuhr, seems entirely too one-sided. It does not leave enough freedom of action. It is not sufficiently self-critical. It is too entrapped by the *status quo*. It leads to political acquiescence. It does not raise ultimate questions about ultimate values—it invests too much value in the *is,* not enough in the *ought*. And the technological revolution has made the powers of the *status quo* too strong. To be a realist today is to condemn oneself to supporting new forms of colonialism and imperialism.

To attempt to stand as a loyal opposition within the present establishment is, moreover, to stand on fragile and untenable ground; the inertia of the establishment is too deeply fixed for anyone to moderate its course from within. For the profound issue is not one of personalities or new leadership. Popular opinion in the United States is so incredibly immoral—twenty-six percent of the American public would willingly employ atom bombs in Vietnam—and the interests of local politicians and businessmen are so retrograde that no man or group of men could lead our government along a new path. Perhaps the rumors that wealthy businessmen hired former CIA agents to assassinate Kennedy are the mythical expression of a growing perception of reality: a majority of Americans, and certainly a very wealthy and politically powerful minority, do not wish to see a further social, or political revolution in America. Why should they? They are the beneficiaries of the suffering of so many millions. They are on top.

It seems increasingly necessary, then, to resist the inertia of our own government and our own culture. To be an urban, pragmatic, technical functionary is not enough. The revolutionary style, and revolutionary modes of thinking, feeling, and acting are replacing realism as the new power of the realm. We do not, for that reason, have to reject the lessons of the last thirty-five years. Realism was earned at the cost of blood. Moreover, the tradition of nonviolence has grown in strength, power, and effectiveness during the last five years. There is some hope, then, that the new revolution will have benefited both from the tradition of realism and from the tradition of nonviolence.

Nevertheless, the new revolutionary mood is taking shape from a cauldron of evil, suffering, and pain. Enough young people have been beaten, jailed and even killed while trying to bring simple constitutional rights to American Negroes to have altered the inner life of a generation. The young do not think of law enforcement as the enforcement of justice; they have experienced it as the enforcement of injustice.

Moreover, as the war flames out ever more broadly in Vietnam, young men watching the evening television news have grown more and more desperate. Many do not believe our cause is just; nearly all agree that our means are calibrated to far too high a level of technological destruction. Young men in the universities do not wish to be asked to drop napalm on living creatures, nor to implant claymore mines whose destructiveness so shreds human flesh that on occasion a weapons count, not a body count, has had to be taken. Many of the young in the colleges have no memories of Russian or Chinese "aggression," but only of United States aggression at the Bay of Pigs, in the Dominican Republic, and now in Vietnam. But the draft stands waiting for them. (It is reported that the Defense Department would expect twenty-five percent of all college students to refuse to serve if they were not already exempted until graduation.)

Many of the young have lived so long in the shadow of death that occasionally they speak of themselves as possibly the last generation on earth. The war in Vietnam seems to them to be the fruit of an irrational fear of Communism; of hidden imperialism and counterrevolutionary policies, and of stupidity. But if they are atheists, most cannot appeal for conscientious objection and hope to have their petition granted. If they are Jews and say that they would have wished to fight against Hitler, they cannot claim, as they must, that they are against *all* war. Even most Christians who do not belong to traditionally pacifist churches like the Quakers, Seventh Day Adventists, and Jehovah's Witnesses, cannot count on the theological sympathy of their draft board. Most members of most draft boards appear to be theologically illiterate; how can they understand, let alone pass judgment upon, the conscience of reflective young men?

The absurdity of the situation is kafkaesque. Those committed to justice, liberty of conscience, and peace are condemned either to leave their nation or to spend

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five years in jail. They could not bear to take active part in the militarism of our nation. They do not wish to hate America; they never wished to come to hate it. But the nation in its madness seems to be walking them to the breaking point.

It is time, I think, for many older persons to rebel. Unless many of us are willing to go to jail, too many of our best youths will go. "Realism" and "working in the system" are no longer enough; the cost has become too high. I never expected to come to use these words in this most lovely of nations: It is time to revolt, peacefully but relentlessly. The policies of our nation must be altered, radically altered, not merely modified. We need new organizations and new structures, and perhaps new political parties, if we do not wish our youngest children to be fighting twenty years from now in South Vietnam or all those other Vietnams of the world. The logic of "realism" must be superseded by the logic of modesty abroad, social revolution at home, and a fundamental realignment of the bases of economic and political power in this land. 1976 must mark a revolution as important as that of 1776.

an exchange of views

'DISOBEDIENCE NOW!'

Four observers evaluate opposition to the war

Should the opposition to the war in Vietnam undertake a campaign of mass civil disobedience? Jay Neugeboren ("Disobedience Now!" June 16) answered yes. In the hope of furthering the discussion of anti-war tactics, the editors asked a number of opponents of the war to comment on Mr. Neugeboren's article.

ARTHUR I. WASKOW

I believe Mr. Neugeboren's comments indicate *one* right track for opponents of the American War in Vietnam. In our present situation there are only two really important levers of power: the polls, and direct action. I do not oppose marches, letters, petitions, speeches, ads, etc. but I cannot put much heart in them unless they directly raise money or support for either electoral action or direct action against the war. I think it is still conceivable that one or both of the old political parties can still be made responsive to the anti-war sentiment, if not from within (which I prefer, if it is still possible) then by secession and reconstruction: a new party, that would have a major effect on the old ones even while building its own base. I also believe that direct action can help put an end to the war, and that it does not contradict electoral action.

I have used the term "direct action," not "civil disobedience," because I do not believe the acts we must undertake are, in American law rightly interpreted, illegal. For example, I believe it is now a crime under international law (and therefore under American law) to pay that 25 percent of our taxes which goes to pay for the war; I do *not*, obviously, believe it is a crime to refuse to pay that part of the tax. I believe it is a crime (not a moral crime only, but a crime *in law*) to make napalm for use in Vietnam; I therefore obviously do not believe it is a crime to prevent napalm from being made. I believe it is an unconstitutional denial of religious freedom and an unconstitutional establishment of a particular religion for the government to refuse conscientious-objector status to, say, devout Catholics who accept just-war theory and conclude this is an unjust war, while granting objector status to devout Quakers who believe all wars are unjust. (In effect, I think this is an establishment of Quakerism—a pretty pass!) I therefore obviously believe it is no crime for men to refuse to be inducted who hold that they cannot participate in an unjust war, and that this one is unjust. . . .

What sorts of such acts are useful and practical as well as moral? I would say the major thrust should be against the most immediate, visible, essential, and horrible engines of the war. Clergymen should block the napalm plants; young men, their mothers and wives and girls, their teachers, and their pastors should block draft boards.

Secondly, as against some recent talk I have heard about sabotage and secrecy I would counsel nonviolence and openness, because these are more likely to bring people to our side instead of turning them against us: because they are *more* moral than their opposites (although even the others may well be more moral than letting official crimes continue); and because they seem to be intrinsically more whole-heartedly devoted to *change*, rather than to a justified, but ineffectual, mere hatred of the Establishment. (Almost all the people whom I have heard talking about violence are *not* themselves doing much against the war: their words seem to compensate for their paralysis.)

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Thirdly, direct action should be done not in *opposition* to electoral action but in rhythm with it. . . . What we need are local social action groups that can hold a sit-in, start a school, or run a candidate—as the situation demands. Right now I think it demands direct action.

RICHARD JOHN NEUHAUS

It is impermissible not to hope. If the goal is to change Administration policy in Vietnam, Neugeboren and all of us would seem to be acting more in obedience to hope than in strategic calculation. The heartening fact is that thousands of Americans appear prepared to act in radical obedience. We may well discover that this is the moment in which civil disobedience is the most appropriate form our obedience can take. In saying this, I am not suggesting that we abandon considerations of strategy. Civil disobedience is not only a frantic effort to offer a witness in this hour of our nation's night. Rather is it premised upon the postulate that our governmental system cannot tolerate even 500 bona fide political prisoners, prisoners who cannot be dismissed as the huddled discontents on the periphery of our society.

The prospect of Martin Luther King Jr. leading hundreds of professors, clergy, and members of other professional communities to jail is provocative. It is a provocation which includes a calculated risk. In the "long night" of 1919, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer arrested thousands without warrant or pretense of due process; hundreds were victimized by the paranoia fed by Joseph McCarthy; and the World War II concentration camps for Japanese-Americans were more than a regrettable lapse. The danger is that massive civil disobedience may provoke the government to pull out all the stops in order to bring war fever to a crescendo loud enough to silence whatever qualms the nation may have about imprisoning, for instance, Martin Luther King, one of the few symbols of conscience left to our country.

There are at least three factors supporting the argument that such provocation will be an effective pressure upon the government to extricate America from Vietnam. The first is that Americans have little stomach for the war against Vietnam. The world's strongest nation bullying and bombing the renegade peasants of a remote Asian peninsula is not a likely scenario for an all-out patriotic orgy. Second, we may reasonably expect Mr. Johnson to be true to his yearning to be considered a great president. The prospect of history's recalling him as the president between the two Kennedys who turned the country over to the radical right is probably not appealing to Mr. Johnson. Third, while we dare take nothing for granted in this area, it seems likely that the civil liberties lobby is stronger today than it has been at any time in this century. . . .

I believe massive civil disobedience is probably more an effective pressure than it is a dangerous provocation. . . . It should be a sober course of action, carefully articulated so that it does not suggest anarchy but obedience to higher law. Increasing evidence that United States policy is in violation of international law and world order should be given prominence. The people who must be reached by this action have, rightly, an almost religious respect for the role of law in the human community. It is noteworthy that Martin Luther King has to date not engaged in an act of civil disobedience except against local and state laws. His appeal has been to the higher federal law. Is international law a credible legal entity to which we can appeal in violating the law of the nation? I hope so. . . .

JEREMY J. STONE

Probably there are no short cuts. U.S. participation in the Vietnamese struggle can only be terminated by political processes; hence acts of civil disobedience can only be assessed through their impact on these processes. Presumably the near-term goal of opposition is to mobilize the largest possible number of persons to protest the war, in order to embolden a smaller and more significant number of politicians. If disobedience takes a form that disgusts and alienates, discredits and disturbs, it will be counterproductive. Only if it stirs, encourages, and organizes by example, will it be useful. Everything depends on tactics. . . .

There is, of course, a role for shock tactics, and the depth of one man's feeling can force reconsideration by others. But if the President is unlikely to be moved by anything less than political realities, if lesser political figures are not much less adept at these same political calculations, there is unlikely to be an alternative to stumping the country—one way or another. Myriads of individual personal acts of persuasion are necessary. It may mean well-endowed lecture bureaus ready to take the other side in regions that are ready to hear it but never do. It may mean publicizing, in hundreds of newspapers, ten pointed questions with which to shift the focus of debate. It may mean organizing methods of getting public figures to commit themselves to anti-war propositions. Or it means raising money for the doves in Congress lest they be defeated.

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Notwithstanding all this, in such circumstances, a man's conscience has to be his guide; the failure to act as decisively as one feels risks as serious an error as the act. And more likely than not, there is a role to play for any plausible act of resistence.

STEVE WEISSMAN

The government wages an unspeakable war in Vietnam and must be stopped. But, as Mr. Neugeboren points out, the ordinary forms of protest are ineffective. Surely the first task of anti-war strategists is to re-examine social and political conditions in order to understand why the tool of protest has failed to transform the material of social reality. . . .

Neugeboren's article is disappointing because he reaches conclusions without going through the prerequisite analysis. He does not ask *why* ads, teach-ins, and parades have failed to dent the public's acquiescence. Appealing for "direct action," he offers virtually no evidence *why* civil disobedience by Martin Luther King and 30,000 others is the last, best hope of the peace movement. . . .

At this stage of the anti-war movement, mass civil disobedience would be a great error. Disobedience succeeds when the legitimacy of an institution is widely questioned. For example, the sit-ins and freedom rides toppled what Bayard Rustin called "an imposing but hollow structure" of legal segregation. The majority's heart was in the right place before direct action; only its will had to be summoned.

On the other hand, demonstrators who violated public order to dramatize the existence of de facto segregation made little headway. The majority's convenience, ethnic parochialism, economic interests and racial fears were at stake. Regarding Vietnam, polls indicate that half of those offering opinions support Johnson's policy, while the opposition is split between "hawks" and "doves." Although public opinion is not as solidly rooted as many people think, it cannot presently support mass civil disobedience. Indeed thousands have already been arrested for blocking troop trains, sitting in government offices, burning draft cards, etc. These demonstrations may have actually raised the prestige of the war by squeezing the delicate nerve of patriotism.

Still, Neugeboren's sense of urgency is well founded and demands more than a negative criticism. My own analysis and proposals were published in the March 27 *New Leader*. Here is a brief summary:

(1) Support for the war does not rest on a solid or necessarily permanent basis. . . . Thus when the Buddhists rebelled—and doubt spread about the usefulness of continued fighting, the dedication of "the freedom-loving South Vietnamese," the popularity or even tolerability of the Ky government—nearly half of those with opinions were in favor of our taking our troops out of Vietnam.

(2) Given the complex nature of public opinion, peace strategy has been most effective when protest has been coupled with *community education*. For instance, the Washington National Teach-In, and its fallout of television guest invitations, reached millions. Congressional "doves" flapped their wings more vigorously. The Harris poll reported one-third of the American people for "Negotiate-Withdraw" over "Hold Line" and "Carry War to North Vietnam." (Yet a few months later this group was down to 11 percent, partly because the anti-war professors failed to institutionalize their opposition and withdrew from national debate.)

(3) With the approach of national elections, politicians are especially attentive to public opinion. Thus Vietnam Summer has begun to educate the public (and organize "doves") on the local level. But this is not enough. Public opinion on foreign policy is formed largely through national media of communication. Anti-war professors should obtain access to these media by—at last—institutionalizing the teach-in. They could publish a weekly 2-3 page analysis of Administration statements and actions, confronting myths and exposing them promptly. In addition, they could hold a weekly press conference in Washington, setting up a committee of professors to discuss the report and answer questions. The regular report would also serve as a basis for press, radio and television appearances and discussions. It would convert the prestige of academics into political currency. Finally, the task of education might be facilitated by certain international developments (e.g., the real possibility of civil strife during the South Vietnam elections this September, the increasing prospect of a long and costly war of attrition, the Middle East crisis which reveals that American power is not infinite and that our objectives must be limited by our means).

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JAMES HEARST

IT WAS LIKE THIS

It was neither the Herod in me
nor the Pilate that spoke, it was
the mob's mocking voice, no wonder
you cried out as if a spear tipped
with anger touched love's flesh
this autumn day. How dare I call
for the judgment? After three weary
days (who breaks faith lives with
guilt), the bright spirit hid in the
crypt, you mourned as Martha but as
the angel rolled the stone away and
love rose up in time for me to ask
forgiveness.

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A Protestant Viewpoint

A PAN-CHRISTIAN PAPACY?

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

San Francisco's Grace Cathedral (Episcopal) has been the scene of some significant ecumenical breakthroughs. It was from the pulpit of this cathedral that Eugene Carson Blake preached his historic sermon in November of 1960 on "A Proposal Toward the Reunion of Christ's Church," which launched the so-called "Blake Proposal," which in turn became the Consultation on Church Union, and presently involves ten denominations working toward plans for organic union.

Another chapter in modern ecumenical history was launched from that same pulpit on Sunday, June 4, 1967, when Bishop C. Kilmer Myers, the recently-installed Episcopal Bishop of California, preached a sermon urging all Christians to acknowledge the pope as their spiritual father. Since the pope only a few weeks before had made clear that the papacy was the main stumbling block on the ecumenical scene, the vigor and forthrightness of Bishop Myers' plea is all the more remarkable. Initial reactions to his suggestion have been somewhat predictable: Catholics on the whole have been both surprised and pleased, while Protestants have been more surprised than pleased, their reactions running the gamut from cautious approval to outright dismay.

The paragraphs that follow do not pretend to offer a sampling of Protestant opinions across the spectrum, but simply to record the reactions of one Protestant.

1. It is important first of all to be clear about what Bishop Myers did and did not say. He specifically made clear that he was not suggesting an organic reunion in which non-Roman Catholics simply buried or suppressed their theological scruples in order to become part of the Roman Catholic Church. Such a proposal would have been unrealistic and unworkable, and would have further divided ecumenical concern rather than consolidating it. The organic reunion of Christendom is still a long way off, and a considerable amount of ecumenical discussion, enlightenment and repentance on both sides will be needed before we have finally achieved that end.

But in the meantime, Bishop Myers was pleading, we non-Roman Catholics can give to the pope a degree of recognition we have been loathe to give him in the past, seeing him as a visible symbol of the united voice and united concern for which we are all praying, giving him as full a measure of allegiance and attention as we can in good conscience give, even across the gaping chasms of our present divisions.

2. On these terms, the proposal is imaginative and realistic and deserves the most serious consideration. I propose a further way of defining this kind of allegiance, which I think is implicit in Bishop Myers' sermon. Since he indicated in a press conference that it was the urgency of the world situation that caused him to preach a sermon he has been contemplating for years, I think it is fair to say that the primary possibility of allegiance which non-Roman Catholics can now offer to the bishop of Rome centers on the relationship of the church to the world. It does not center on the pope's actions or decisions in the internal affairs of the Roman Catholic church, or the theological issues that are raised in this arena. There is no thought that Protestants are now being asked to accept papal infallibility, subscribe to the doctrine of the Assumption of the Virgin into Heaven, or express delight at the tenor of the most recent papal appointees to the cardinalate.

But—when the pope speaks about world poverty, about the need to negotiate a peace in Vietnam, about more equal distribution of wealth, when he speaks about the ills that beset all modern men, when he is trying to suggest that the task of the church is to be the servant of the world, then other Christian bodies ought not only to listen respectfully, but should, as fully as possible, align themselves with those concerns, and say in effect, "He speaks for us too."

I think this distinction between the pope's leadership in sensitizing the conscience of the total family of man, and his leadership within Roman Catholicism *per se*, is a useful distinction in assessing the degree to which non-Roman Catholics could recognize the pope as a kind of spiritual father. We are not prepared to accept *Munificentissimus Deus,* but many of us are prepared to make common cause in implementing most of the provisions of *Populorum Progressio.*

There is one problem with this attempted distinction, however. It is still a little too neat. For in dealing with world problems, the pope, while far ahead of most other Christians, is still in some areas regrettably behind the times, at least from a Protestant perspective. Pope Paul's views on birth control, to take only the most obvious example, seem to non-Catholics (and clearly to many

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Catholics as well) to be exacerbating rather than resolving a problem of the highest magnitude to the entire human race, and in such an area as this, those who were asked to look to him as a spiritual father would still be forced to play the role of dissenting and perhaps even disruptive children. We would, for example, have to take the strongest possible exception to his unfortunate reference to birth control in the UN speech.

3. Recognizing, however, that children do in fact discriminate between various kinds of parental advice, there is still point in finding ways to speak to the world as Christians with a more united voice. And to a remarkably high degree we have already begun to do so, employing the papacy as one of our chief mouthpieces. What Bishop Myers' sermon does is to articulate a half-formed and half-acted impulse that has been increasingly present in the Protestant community. When we try to make a point about war and peace, or about the rich nations and the poor nations, we are less and less self-conscious about quoting popes as well as World Council documents. Indeed, *Populorum Progressio* must be made a primary source material for the Uppsala assembly of the World Council of Churches next summer.

As an example of the present use of papal statements and insights by Protestant groups, one can turn to the action of the 179th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church. In late May, this body adopted a Declaration of Conscience on Vietnam, to be read from all Presbyterian pulpits in June. The Declaration quotes from three sources: the Bible, the new Confession of 1967 of the United Presbyterian Church, and Pope Paul, explicitly citing his statement from *Christi Matri Rosarii,* that "Men must come together and get down to sincere negotiations. Things must be settled now, even at the cost of some loss or inconvenience, for later they may have to be settled at the cost of immense harm and enormous slaughter that cannot even be imagined now." (An amendment to the Declaration was proposed from the floor of the assembly, that would have been inserted at the end of the first sentence quoted above. In an act of ecumenical wisdom, the Assembly voted unanimously that it would not be fitting, at least at this stage of ecumenical relations, for a Presbyterian body to amend a papal encyclical.) By the time this article appears in print, the pope's plea will have been read from every Presbyterian pulpit in the country.

The point is that we already make use of the insights of the bishop of Rome, and there is no reason to diminish, and every reason to increase, such use.

Catholic Response

4. This leads to a consideration of possible Catholic response to Bishop Myers' suggestion. What he has in mind would necessitate a considerable rethinking and even reshaping of the image of the bishop of Rome, and would call for future popes to assume a role much wider and more exacting than that which they have assumed in the past. Some of Bishop Myers' concerns are quite explicit. When the Pope comes to the United Nations, for example, he should while on American soil not only greet Roman Catholics, but all Christians and indeed all men of goodwill. In his sermon, Bishop Myers suggested that the pope go now to both North and South Vietnam, to seek more actively for ways to bring about the beginning of negotiations. In the press conference a couple of days after the sermon, he suggested that the pope should likewise go to the Middle East to intercede for peace, just as St. Francis once journeyed to the Middle East to intercede with the sultan. Wherever he goes, the pope should go as one concerned for all mankind, and not go merely as the leader of one particular group of mankind.

I would expand the point in the following way. One of the greatest Protestant hangups relative to the papacy is the way in which it has symbolized authoritarian power, wealth, mastery over the lives of men, the pomp and circumstance associated with a Rennaissance court, the way in which it has appeared to exalt a human being at the expense of the Lord whom the human being is meant to serve. And the existential breakthrough that Pope John achieved *vis-à-vis* the Protestant world was to shatter that image of papacy and begin to convey a different image. This image was, of course, the image of the pope as *servant,* which helped to recreate the further image of the church as servant, both pope and church existing to witness to the One who came "not to be served but to serve." Such an image is clearly present in Pope Paul's understanding of his office, even if he does not convey it through his person with quite the degree of warmth that Pope John did. I would venture the prediction that to the degree that Catholic response to Bishop Myers' plea takes the form of re-shaping the papacy in the imagery of the servant of God to the church and to the world, to just that degree will responsiveness to the idea of the pope as spiritual father again gain credence in non-Roman Catholic circles.

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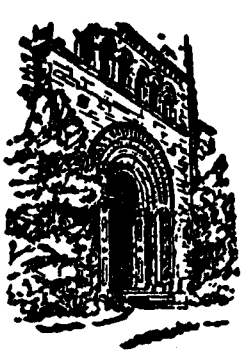

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5. The possible re-shaping of the papacy suggests a final consideration. I think the most serious question to raise about the ecumenical import of Bishop Myers' suggestion is its possible tendency to arrest certain internal developments about the meaning of papacy that have come to the fore during and since Vatican Council II.

Vatican II, for example, has made some initial strides in rethinking the authority of the church so that it is not so exclusively concentrated in the person or office of the bishop of Rome. Surely the doctrine of collegiality is trying to say that the other bishops share in this teaching office, and that teaching authority in the future is to be conceived in broader terms than it has been in the past. There is clearly a movement toward a more conciliar type of church government, with an episcopal college of which the pope would be the head, but of which he would also be a responsible member. When the synod of bishops meets this fall in Rome there will be a chance to see how seriously the Roman Catholic Church means to move in this direction. If the bishops there assembled are to be no more than "the pope's men," if they are not genuinely to share in the process by which decisions are made, if papal authority emerges from the synod in more rather than less monarchical terms, this will be a genuine setback to the hopes engendered by Vatican II. And it is possible, of course, that Bishop Myers' suggestion could have the result of once again elevating the pope above his fellow bishops as a solitary figure, of encouraging Roman Catholics to believe that what non-Roman Catholics want is a leader who speaks unilaterally, rather than as one who speaks to represent a broad consultative base from which a considerable degree of unanimity has emerged.

But another eventuality could emerge. This would be the possibility that the pope, when he spoke and acted, would do so not only as the representative of his fellow Catholic bishops, after consultation with them, but with and for other Christians as well, after consultation with them. That he spoke at least in concert with people like the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, would add immensely to the impact of what he said and did, and the further such lines of communication can be established, the better. On matters of import for all mankind, Geneva and Rome should be able to speak with an increasingly united voice. As a further step in this direction it would surely be appropriate for the pope to be invited to address the fourth world assembly of the World Council of Churches at Uppsala next summer, and for the pope to invite Eugene Carson Blake to address the synod of bishops this fall.

Out of such exchanges might come a reconception of papacy which would at least make the papacy a more efficacious and significant symbol of the concerns all Christians have today, not simply for unity, but for united action in a sick and weary world.

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Commonweal's Role

On day-to-day issues, what is *Commonweal's* point of view? We are not committed to any political party or ism, but favor reform in social and political affairs and freedom in intellectual and cultural matters. We look first to the needs of the poor and all those unjustly treated in our society; we are particularly concerned with the sins committed in its pride of race. We take seriously the principles of the social encyclicals and of papal peace efforts; we see no reason to imagine that traditional Christian principles suddenly become irrelevant in Vietnam because the United States is involved. Above all, we believe that Christians cannot remain aloof, that we must take stands, even at the risk of being wrong on occasion.

What of the role of *Commonweal* in the Church? On this score, too, the magazine is "liberal"; Pope John's breath of fresh air was welcome and, indeed, overdue. Laymen must play a larger role not only as Christians in the temporal order but inside the Church as well. Thinking about the Church cannot be a purely clerical concern. For this reason, *Commonweal* has increasingly opened its pages to material that would once have been thought "too theological" for us. Our sympathies [are] unabashedly on the side of reform and renewal inside the Church.

What, then, is the role of *Commonweal*? It is to be concerned with both Church and world; it is to speak to the world in the accents of the Church, and to speak to the Church in the accents of the world. Indeed, if there is one piece of wisdom that is obvious after 42 years of publication, it is this fact, that the dialogue between Church and world is a two-way affair, and that each stands in need of the other.

—*Commonweal*, May 19

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ARE PARENTS NECESSARY?

THE SCREEN

Because I found Bill Naughton's play "Alfie" so unusual and interesting as it was presented on the New York stage with Terence Stamp in the title role, I looked forward with expectations to his next play, "All in Good Time"—and was sadly disappointed. It was a sniggering farce about a very young couple, newlyweds, who are cheated out of their honeymoon and have to move in with the boy's parents, a very bad arrangement in this thin-walled house where the sensitive boy doesn't get along with his vulgar, factory-worker father, and the lad shys away from sex, much to the bewilderment of his bride as the weeks and months pass. And the audience snickered at the crude jokes about the young people and perplexed elders. So I said to myself this is one play that will never be made into a movie. I was wrong. (As I was wrong about "Alfie" and surprised at what a good movie it made.) I didn't know that those fine film makers, the Boulting Brothers, had their eyes on "All in Good Time." They have made it, now called "The Family Way," into one of the best films of the year.

Using Bolton, an industrial town in the north of England (nicely photographed in Technicolor) for backgrounds and many of the people of Bolton for authentic local color, and using an outstanding cast to play the leads, producers-directors John and Roy Boulting tell a heart-warming, down-to-earth story about young newlyweds whose unconsummated marriage is a source of embarrassment and unhappiness to them as well as to their parents—and even to their neighbors when the word gets around. Roy Boulting and Jeffrey Dell made the adaptation from the original play and emphasized compassion more than comedy, although the movie has its humorous moments, and the dialogue in Bill Naughton's good screenplay has its salty touches. In spite of the delicate subject matter, there's nothing titillating about the awkward situation in which the young couple find themselves. When the clerk at the travel agency absconds with their honeymoon money, they have only the boy's room at his father's house to move into. And when they can't find an apartment or house in this crowded town, they're stuck.

Hayley Mills, now 21, is charming as the naive but sensible bride who begins to lose some of her bloom in this constrained atmosphere. Newcomer Hywel Bennett, a good-looking young Welshman, is just right as the record-playing, book-reading fellow who's always at odds with his father. And we're touched by the predicament of this likable couple whose problems are worse than any honeymooners' should be.

But as the film progresses we realize it is the elders

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who are our main interest. The girl's mother, a shrew who nags continuously, and her henpecked husband are well played by Avril Angers and John Comer. Portraying the boy's parents, John Mills and Marjorie Rhodes turn in performances that are magnificent as the crude husband works overtime to prove his masculinity and as his sensible wife who loves him but refuses to let him run down their thoughtful son. The scene in which the girl's parents, aware that the marriage has not been consummated, call on the boy's parents to discuss the situation is unforgettable. Mills is shocked and humiliated to learn his son hasn't proved his manhood, and when he unfortunately uses the word "queer," his wife explodes. She describes their own honeymoon on which Mills brought his friend Billy along. The tensions mount among the four people as inferences are tossed around.

If "The Family Way" weren't so well directed and honestly written, it might have sunk to soap opera, but this film is about real people. We know that the young couple will work out all right. But we never know for sure that Mills is the father of this boy. Perhaps he doesn't know either. But at the end, he behaves like a father. And after the newlyweds leave, the camera focuses on Mills, and we recall his words: "It's life, lad. It might make you laugh at your age, but one day, it'll make you cry." And the finale might make you cry too.

I'm writing this on the eve of my departure for Europe and the Berlin Film Festival where I've been invited by the O.C.I.C. (International Catholic Film Office) to be on the jury. I was pleased to learn recently that "The Family Way" and another interesting picture ("The Whisperers," which I shall review later) are the British entries at the Festival. I hope other movies I see in Berlin are as worthy.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

The French Church's painful protest

The Catholic Avant-Garde

JEAN-MARIE DOMENACH & ROBERT DE MONTVALON

Holt, Rinehart, $5.95

LOUIS ALLEN

"Humble yourself, my Lord Bishop," wrote André Mandouze to the Bishop of Marseilles in the columns of *Témoignage Chrétien,* exactly a year after D-Day, "admit you were wrong. If a certain number of your flock, priests and laity, had not had the courage to disobey you for four years, in order to obey their conscience, neither you nor the majority of your colleagues would now be occupying your episcopal palaces."

That letter was written at the end of a war which had tried the structures of the French Church almost beyond endurance, and it is difficult for those who have not undergone the crises of conscience imposed by the occupation of a cruel and barbarous enemy fully to understand the forces unleashed in French Catholicism since 1945. Even before then, of course, the signs of discontent with *milieu* Catholicism were fairly evident. Cardinal Suhard wrote in his celebrated pastoral letter, *Essor ou déclin de l'église,* that the Church of France was the exemplar for the rest of Christianity, in that it fore-suffered and witnessed in its own flesh the conflicts between society and the Catholic conscience which would later rend the Church as a whole.

Now, in *The Catholic Avant-Garde,* two of France's most brilliant Catholic journalists have put together a cogent documentation of the tests at this proving-ground.

The issues are general: the relationship of Christianity to the modern world; the role of Catholicism in renewing French social life in face of the dechristianization of the fast-emptying rural world, and the loss to religion of the urban proletariat; religious art and liturgy; relations with civil society in its educational and economic aspects (church schools, Christian socialism and trade-unionism, worker-priests); in its dying imperialism (war in Indochina and Algeria); and the relations between Christian peace and the world's violence (conscientious objection to military service). The names involved in the debate are those which—however crudely sentimental this may sound—make one glad to be a Catholic with them: Mounier, Lubac, Congar, Blondel, Marrou, Couturier, Mauriac, Boulier, Massignon, Simon, and many others.

There can, of course, be no pretense that this segment of French Catholicism is a typical cross-section of the whole of French Catholic life since the war. Much of what has been discussed still exists in the form of problems rather than solutions, and we have recently seen the unedifying spectacle of the great Maritain himself, whose ideas lie behind Mounier's and Domenach's hostility to integrism, beating a rapid retreat in old age from the difficult conquests of his youth. No doubt any avant-garde can easily be accused of "chronolatry." But mistrust of those who, it is claimed, are merely the slaves of their times comes far too easily to the minds and lips of those who are the slaves of five hundred years ago: "chronolatry" works both ways.

One thing is missing from this otherwise very comprehensive book: the renewal of sexual life in the Christian context, which, if we except the work of Marc Oraison and the magazine *"Clair-Fover"* has been the special province of German, Dutch, and Anglo-American Catholicism. To those with a *belle époque* view of French life, it may seem paradoxical that neither Domenach nor Montvalon refer to the deepening theology of marriage which, though still hesitant in its affirmations, is a significant feature of modern Cath-

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olic life among the laity. "We are a Latin country. We think our intimate lives are our own affair," a visiting French professor replied when I asked him why the birth-control debate had been so slow to spark off in France. A correct, if inadequate, answer. . . .

We may think Suhard was being typically, chauvinistically, French when he claimed the French Church was the focus of debate for all Catholics. But when we look at the major feature of this book, under the disparate elements of the analysis, we can see one thing quite clearly. At certain crucial moments of their recent history, the most lucid French Catholics have seen it as their duty to oppose the dominant social trends of their society—the creation by capitalism of economic and social groups of helots—and the major proposals of the national community: colonial wars and the atrocities they inevitably bring.

Henri Marrou protested against torture in Algeria in terms which make this issue very clear: "As a theologian, I learned from my master, St. Augustine, a Berber, that all nations are necessarily a mixture which it is not impossible for us to disentangle, of the City of Good and the City of Evil. But theology, history, and good sense have also taught me that those civilizations which have allowed a gulf to develop between the ideal they invoke and the realization of it that they offer end by dying of hypocrisy. . . ."

Pierre-Henri Simon listened to a French Army chaplain justifying the use of torture in Indochina: "It's inevitable in the kind of war we face over there. Suppose you were in the thick of the jungle, in charge of a section, with your buddies behind you. The Viets are all around, but invisible. You've got to know what they're concocting, where they're waiting for you—it can be a matter of life and death for forty Frenchmen. Well, if you had a chance to learn what you needed to know by arresting a village woman and driving a nail through her hand until she talked, would you hesitate? No, and you would be right."

Simon was shaken by this from the mouth of a priest, then thought perhaps his own reaction was too much that of an intellectual, remote from the field of action. He finally realized his first protest had been right: "If soldiers who have used torture for what they consider their duty in a given situation tell me, 'In our place you would have done the same,' I can only answer, 'That's possible, but I'd know I would be doing wrong.' We are collectively guilty, and France is in a state of sin if Frenchmen do not protest against the adoption of ignoble practices which are contrary to the principle of that civilization which they claim to maintain."

Are we not bound to feel that these Frenchmen are showing us the proper and painful Christian way, and that the Christian's stumbling-block in a materialist world is not physical ease, but intellectual comfort?

Earthly Paradise

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MAURICE GOUDEKET

Farrar, Straus, $4.50

ALICE MAYHEW

When, especially in the winter, we were chased out of the Luxembourg Gardens at five we used to race across Paris to the Palais Royal, sit in that beautiful, formal little oblong garden (with its homely, touching monument to the genius of the Latin People) and lay odds on which window at the far end (opposite the Cour behind the Comédie, around the corner from the Grand Véfour) was the one Colette had sat in observing all of Paris, all of France. Earthbound, she said of her work, and it was true; there is nothing else of interest in it—except wit. I had forgotten, or I had not noticed from the novels, how witty she was and not at all earthy; her wit is extra-terrestrial.

At the opposite end of the garden from her window is the Palais Royal court of honor. In that relic of Bourbon splendor, Colette was buried by the state, the highest posthumous honor that can be given a citizen. She is the only woman writer to be so honored in the history of all four republics. There, we read in the accounts, she was surrounded by garlands of blue flowers, members of the government and artists, her third husband, her daughter and her maid. At the *Funérailles de Colette*, with eulogies and poems, she was canonized a secular saint of France. The Minister of Education, according to Genêt's report, loudly declaimed her as "pagan, sensuous, Dionysiac," and the Church concurred, at least in the "pagan" by refusing her its rites. It's hard to imagine she would have cared. She never evidenced any temptations toward spirituality that were less than sensuous connections with earth and humans.

She worshipped the earth and, it is fair to say, the *French* earth. ". . . The worship I offer to my country is a slow-burning fire deep inside me. We were spoiled when young by the succulence and the grace of the French earth, warm in its every fold from having provided shelter for the human race. . . . We were loaded with inestimable gifts in a currency of phosphorescent waves, of apple trees in bloom, of meadowlands, of historic palaces, of fruits from the valley of the Rhone." Colette lingered on these treasures over seventy-seven years and forty volumes and received, she said, among other adulations, this stinging praise from Mauriac (who tried to convert her): "Where has she not burrowed her way in, this great honeybee?"

She was born in Burgundy and referred, altogether inexactly, all her life to her "peasant" childhood. She married, came to Paris, knew the *tout Paris* of her generation and the next two as well, was Bohemian, risqué, scandalous, hedonist. She went back to the country though and even found some country for herself in the garden in the First *arrondissement*. Those things she found there—the flowers and the solitude and the insomniac's star-filled skies—those were the things that brought her back

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to the axis of her life. This was in fact her mother, Sido, who all during the daughter's life drew her fervent admiration. Her eyes, she herself admitted, only fitfully strayed from her mother, the dear and exotic friend to whom she always turned. If one is in the slightest susceptible, one will fall a little for Sido too. Sido was eccentric, literary, hard-headed and charitable to the poor.

Colette was, it would seem like Sido, androgynous and this was more than a matter of aggressive relationships with actresses and Bohemian women aristocrats, and three conventional marriages to boot. There is a striking mixture of virility and command and an insisted-on femininity, an attachment to things, and an almost total absence of abstract ideas. There is no poetry, just exquisite, glorious breathing prose. She was never able to weep, which can be a terrific disadvantage. She was a stoic and in her old age, bedridden with arthritis, she raised that quality to the level of heroism, giving up everything but her few dearest friends, and her writing and the genius of her memory. She tried to teach herself to not write, and failed.

We have reason to be grateful for the failure, for *The Blue Lantern* was written there, at that window, at the bittersweet end. The lantern—*fanal* is a lantern that sweeps the seas—shone at the window practically all the time. (I came to the gardens too late to see it.) Evidently the neighbors who had thus christened it took comfort and pride from it and Mme. Colette let it shine as much for them as for herself. She wrote these memoirs under the blue lamp, on blue paper, sitting on the window's edge, and the essays sweep the gardens and all of her emotional and historical and fictional life. They are among the most charming of her works.

Robert Phelps, *'Earthly Paradise* is her "autobiography," a brilliant collection taken from her collected works—fictional, autobiographical, descriptive essays and letters. *The Blue Lantern* is drawn on for the end, and the editor leans heavily on *Paris From My Window* (that same window) for the second World War years. The early years—the Burgundian childhood, and some of the most poignant and hilarious vignettes on the ever-present and enchanting Sido—come heavily from *Sido* and *La Maison de Claudine* (Claudine's House). But, interestingly, *Break of Day*, a novel about a time of emotional confrontation when Colette was in her fifties and involved with a younger man, sheds a particular light on her life, and is a good companion to the other books cited here.

The young man is, of course, Maurice Goudeket, her third husband. The heroine in the novel ends by sending the man off to a more suitable (though unwanted) marriage bed and achieves a psychic renaissance by the renunciation of sexual love. Colette did neither, although it was clearly much on her mind to do both; it was the *temptation*. What happened was that she married and lived happily ever after, putting an end to the emotional instability that jarred her young and middle adulthood, and returned to a contented joyousness and charm that she had known in her childhood with her adored mother, her romantic, gentle father, and sister and brothers.

Some of the most wonderful things in *Break of Day* (one doesn't, after all this time, need mention the magnificent quality of language and the physical portraits) are the letters from her dying mother whose dignity and resignation and independence saw Colette through this dawning of the youth of old age. The other book on our list here is a pleasant one by Maurice Goudeket (he wrote a much more interesting one, *Close to Colette*) that includes a few reminiscences, and tells how his life with Colette strengthened him so that he was able to rebuild it after her death.

These three volumes, (though I would substitute Goudeket's earlier book for this one) are uniquely well suited to give us a portrait of all of Colette's life. Phelps has done a marvelous job in sifting through her considerable output to put together a faceted and chronological self-account and he is particularly strong on her early life. *Break of Day* is not her best novel, but it is dead center in her life and career. And it is unusually personal; in this novel, or report, are joined the two saving persons of her life—her mother and her last husband. This period of crisis was to have a happy ending, in reality, and part of the reason was because she and it had had a happy beginning. *The Blue Lantern*, of course, is the shy, charming, gallant self-testimony of her last years.

All of these books help us to know what this genius was like. She had really a kind of masculine charm—she thought women were more manly than men, anyhow—and she lived her life free and easy morally and socially, and she looked hard at everything including herself (*Regarde*! was her favorite exclamation), and

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worked intensely to get a great deal down on paper, and was at her least a quintessentially French writer, and at her best a tragic writer, at her least amusing and bright, and at her best, great.

The Anatomy of Uhuru

N. S. CAREY JONES

Praeger, $6.50

POLYBIUS AFRICANUS

Western writers, with few exceptions, have ignored Africa and Africa, to date, lacks favorable publicity in America. First, the image of Africa as a "dark continent" has not been removed from the eyes of many. Second, Americans of African ancestry have been treated as second-class citizens, while at the same time being made to believe that they are better off, as second-class Americans, than their contemporaries in Africa. Third, Americans have a general impression of Africans as a primitive and savage people who cannot and must not govern themselves. *The Anatomy of Uhuru* reinforces those traditional images. The book is about Kenya, but the author claims much of what he has to say is applicable to the rest of non-white Africa.

At best, Carey Jones' book is a recollection of his personal experience in Kenya, distorted by the fact that, as former Permanent Secretary in pre-independence Kenya, he participated in intimate European gossiping but was excluded from the inner circle after independence. Probably as one of the permanent secretaries who read in the newspapers one morning that they were out of a job, Mr. Jones is bitter, emotional and cannot be taken too seriously. The book represents more of a racist attack than an academically researched piece of work. It is an apologia for colonialism. But much of this is neither new nor enlightening: because for years, the case for colonialism was the only information about Africa the Western public received. The concept of the "white man's burden" was well-known while the untapped wealth of the African colonies was being milked to fill the coffers of the metropolitan areas. This was colonial philanthropy.

According to Carey Jones, "independence for Africa has worsened the economic situation." Most of the economic blunders in African countries cannot be exonerated but suffice it to say that most of these ruinous policies have resulted from "our former rulers" having made it so; the Congo is a good example. Hiding behind the "savages" of the Congo were the economic interests of the "civilized" world—Union Minière, whose interests were not guaranteed by the central government. The Congo fiasco, as well as a few more African fiascos are the self-fulfilling prophesies of "our formerly benevolent" rulers.

Carey Jones contends that Africans—Kenyans specifically—made a big mistake in asking for independence, for independence greatly reduces social stability. But then, why shouldn't Britain become a colony of the United States? In addition, Carey Jones is worried about future tribal wars among the African savages. But no African has commented on the "civilized" European wars that resulted in unified countries. When the Irish were fighting to gain independence they were not considered savage people. The "civilized" deeds of Hitler and his cohorts did not even call for the Germans to be considered savages.

Carey Jones devotes much of his volume to the unfair treatment given to European settlers in Kenya, and for that matter in Africa, generally because the African has not continued to look to the European with great respect. According to the author, the African should invariably turn the other cheek. He is also worried that "In Kenya voting is based on tribe and not on party principle or policy." The voting behavior of "savage" New Yorkers, who are not tribesmen—the Negro, the Irish, Italians, Jews and other ethnic groupings should also worry Carey Jones. The differences between the principles of the Republican party—with Goldwater—and the Democratic party with Mr. Wallace are very clear-cut and Mr. Carey Jones should find them stimulating.

Finally, the author sees much of the support for independence in Kenya and the rest of Africa in the United States, United Nations, Britain and the East. He sees the roots of African disorder in the East. Unfortunately, Carey Jones does very little to substantiate his assertions. One of the accusations against the U.S. has been that it has *not* participated in the revolutionary movements in Africa. It refrained from doing so in order not to alienate its allies.

But above all, the author has no proposals other than begging our former rulers to return and once again determine our destinies. What Kenya and Africa need is not more critics—we have had a few too many. What Africa needs today are solutions to her many problems. It took the United States two centuries to become what it is; Britain has had a longer time, yet with all its ingenuity is deteriorating. African countries have been independent, for the most part, for less than a decade. Today's Africa was born out of yesterday's Africa, and it has been said that "there is no birth without pain."

The story has been told before but perhaps, badly needs retelling . . . how Africa, unsuspecting, welcomed the first Europeans to visit the continent in the seventeenth century, with that traditional hospitality which was to prove her undoing in the long run; how the confusing demands of European powers led her to have misgivings. Africa's eager protectors and benefactors did not hesitate to silence her misgivings by a display of force; guns against spears, European protection was not to be refused. Treaties were signed as though between equal parties but, in reality, a mere facade for European ambitions.

In reviewing the events of the past decade, Western writers on Africa find much cause to wonder about Africa's readiness for independence—and one such writer is N. S. Carey Jones. We would like to suggest to these gentlemen that they leave off shaking their dismayed heads long enough to take a hard look backwards—one hundred years

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REVIEWERS

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backwards into African history, and try to come to an understanding of the roles their respective powers played in bringing Africa to its present pass. Once they have mastered the main outlines of this Afro-European history, as it can only be called, they may find their concern with Africa's future taking a different and more constructive form. Concerning African development, we are confident; we hold the belief that where hovels once stood, splendid mansions shall stand.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 435)

a man justified in spending himself in the service of others? Most of us would probably consider the answers to these questions virtually self-evident and consider the questions themselves destructive and unfruitful. But most of us would probably also have great difficulty formulating rigorous intellectual answers.

The existentialists, and more recently the New Left, have made us very aware of the fact that philosophical inquiry tenaciously pursued is likely to lead to metaphysical scepticism and paralysis of action. All of us live by certain assumptions which for one reason or another we do not seriously question, or which we seriously question only sporadically, regularly putting the questions aside in order to resume living according to some pattern and for the sake of some meaning.

The role of commitment or belief in the intellectual life of the Catholic is of course fundamental and unsettled, and we must continue to meditate about it. But Mr. Cogley should also realize that similar problems afflict all honest men, whether religious or non-religious, and few have solved the problem by a stance of moral or intellectual neutralism. We can agree that censorship and repression ought to disappear from the Catholic schools, but this does not imply that they must therefore come to be theologically neutral.

JAMES HITCHCOCK
Department of History
Saint Louis University

Clifton, N. J.

To the Editors: . . . Since Mr. Cogley has so efficiently exposed the malignancies of the Catholic university, it might be helpful to point out that the patient is not entirely cancerous. The Catholic university is making a vital and unique contribution to the general academic community; it is asserting that a man cannot be genuinely human without making a personal decision regarding religion. . . .

One can indeed envision a time when the Catholic university, even in its secularized form, will have become anachronistic. That time will come, however, only when the religiously-unaffiliated secular universities, both state-owned and privately-owned, have discovered that, in order to fulfill their academic obligations, they must require each student to enroll in a relatively large number of religion courses, both within and outside of his own faith. When this decision is made, the religion department will no longer be an ornament of the university curriculum, but will instead be the inner spirit of the university. Nonetheless, there is little indication that the secular universities of this nation, especially those state-sponsored, are moving in this direction. Until they do the Catholic university must continue to urge man toward a higher humanity.

BERTRAM P. GOLTZ, JR.

Holliston, Mass.

To the Editors: . . . Mr. Cogley's main reasoning against Catholic universities seems to run this way: No university worthy of the name and as such should be committed to any ideology; but Catholic universities are indeed strongly committed to a definite ideology; ergo. . . .

If the premises of the syllogism were right then, according to Mr. Cogley, there is no university worthy of the name now existing and, actually, it never did exist! Why doesn't Harvard have a Chair of Nazi Philosophy conducted, not by critics, but by convinced Nazi experts? Why doesn't Columbia or Yale or Stanford have a Chair of Communism taught with empathy by Communist professors? When Mr. Cogley asserts that a university exists "to feed minds, to acquaint students with the best thought of the best thinkers . . . to make meaningful, informed adult choices possible," he must think of a university making quite a few judgments, and commitments as to who are the "best" thinkers, what it means and how one can be taught to make "meaningful adult choices."

. . . A Catholic university is bound by certain values no less than any other university is bound by other values. . . .

(REV.) VICTOR M. MOSELE, S.X.

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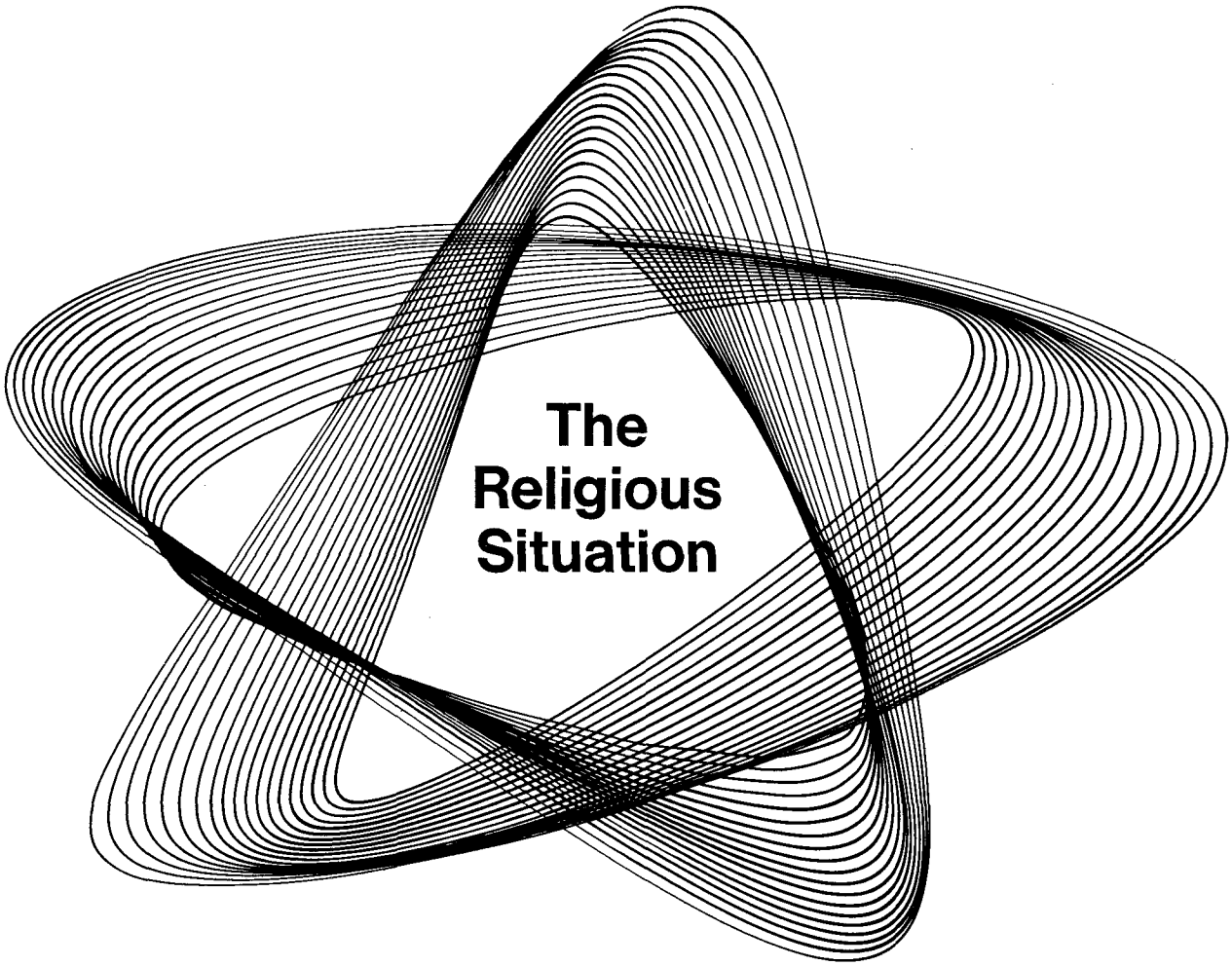

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